342 In constructing a house, not a single nail, wooden plug, or peg is used, but the entire structure of stakes and wickerwork is usually tied firmly together with fresh bast from the bark of a [288] fig tree or with spliced fibres of banana trunks or papyrus stalks. The height of the huts varies between two and four meters (in Ruanda as much as eight meters); the diameter is between three and six meters.

In Urundi I did not see residential huts of any other shape, but, according to Baumann, there are residential huts with a cylindrical bamboo substructure on the upper Kagera (No. 4, [343] p. 218). In Urundi I have seen these used only as storage huts in the mountains where bamboo grows.

As has already been mentioned above, each family has its own hut, and if there are several wives, each wife has her own hut. There are no special houses for bachelors, unmarried women, strangers, communal gatherings, or for specific societies. However, there are half-open roughly constructed work huts for 343 blacksmiths and smaller well-built huts for young cattle (uruhongore) and for the storage of field crops (ivikeka). The [251] storage huts are shaped like baskets, tapering toward the bottom, and are twice a person's height. They are covered with a flat, conical straw roof which is usually removable (see p. 56). All this stands on a low grate of wooden poles to protect the hut yet very close to it, there usually stand a few small spirit huts 346 778 (ikigabiro), not more than a meter high, made of straw and [782] reeds. In these the spirits are offered meat, milk, or produce of the soil in pieces of broken pots or pumpkin shells (see pp. [776] 121, 135, and Plate 18a). Another miniature hut (ikitabo) is dedicated to the chief god, Riangombe or Kiranga. One sees many more of these huts in Urundi, Uha, and Ussumbwa than in Ruanda.

364 The Barundi, and above all, the Bahutu, are far from 356 exemplifying the great cleanliness which usually prevails in 342 the vicinity of the huts in Ruanda; [23] they throw garbage [514] next to the hut and defecate in the banana grove surrounding the huts, but the coprophagous dogs and vultures, wherever they exist, make it their business to remove the worst.

226 exclusively the little sardine-like fish, about five centimeters long, which are called akahuso; they are found in the lake in large numbers and are attracted by the light of the torch at night. Fishing is conducted from the dugout by two men of whom one handles the net and the other rows and maintains the burning of the long reed torch (ikimuri) which forms one of the main elements of the fishing equipment. This torch is actually a long rope, 20 to 25 centimeters thick, which consists of dry reeds tied together with banana bast and is made 10 to 20 meters long depending on the requirements. The enormous bundle of reeds is placed on the bottom of the dugout so as to protrude somewhat over the front of the boat; it is then lighted at the front end, and the boat is rowed out into the lake. There the boat is anchored by means of a stone fastened to a bast rope. The small fish then swarm toward the glare of the light and are caught in the hundreds and thousands by the net which is repeatedly thrown out and pulled in, [38] and they are emptied into the boat. The still smaller fish, umuschischja, and small crustaceans and other minute creatures are caught by means of a scoop net resembling our hand nets (No. 19, p. 426 and Plate 45).

251 These two types of small fish, akahuso and umuschischja, are spread out in a wide, thin layer in the space in front of and between the huts just as they have been taken out of the boat whether still alive or dead. They dry quickly in the sun and air.

[182] A vessel filled with water is placed in the middle; it is dedicated to Imana and is supposed to keep the god kindly inclined toward fishing (No. 19, p. 427). Moreover, according to van der Burgt,

[191] the Lake Barundi have a special magician whose job it is to insure successful fishing by means of all kinds of magic rites. The

262 small dried fish, which have a pretty silvery and golden iridescence

438 and do not taste at all bad, are very popular among the natives. They are also traded to the interior insofar as fish are eaten there, which is particularly the case in northwest Urundi. I once met people from Lake Tanganyika with large baskets full of such fish at the foot of the Russiga mountains, a three days' journey from the lake.

226 Every traveler gets a vivid impression of night fishing on Lake Tanganyika, much more so, in fact, than of the other methods

439 from Urundi and Ruanda are sold in Usumbura and Bukoba for export since there is a heavy demand for them. The hides are almost without exception from animals that died, either useless steers or sterile cows, which for this reason are now killed in much greater numbers than before. Since for reasons mentioned above other cattle are seldom slaughtered, the export of hides will remain quite restricted in the future.

One of the "superstitious" customs connected with cattle
272 farming whose practical basis and meaning cannot be dis-
B25 covered any more is that the Murundi may never heat or even boil milk. If he did so, the cow from whom the milk had been taken would get a sore udder or she would even stop giving milk altogether. It is also believed that the cow would develop sores on her udder if the Murundi ate peas or peanuts on the day he drank milk. This taboo evidently also has dietetic reasons. On the other hand, it is difficult to understand why someone
752 with a wound on his leg or on some other part of his body is not permitted to look on while a cow is calving; it is assumed that his wounds would then grow even larger (No. 19, p. 423).

It is certain that the Barundi have taken over the belief
231 imported by the Batussi that especially close connections exist
776 between cattle and the chief deity, Imana. All cattle are dedicated to Imana and are believed to be creatures "possessed" by Imana. Instead of Imana, Riangombe is also often mentioned. On the other hand it is reported that even the "devil," or Rikiranga, the most important of the evil spirits (see p. 121), is the owner of a cattle herd in the vicinity of Mujaga which includes two steers dedicated to him (Afrikabote [African Messenger], 1904, p. 123). Yet the precise extent of these religious beliefs regarding cattle is quite unknown. Finally,
576 we might mention that during the involved greetings of the
231 Barundi the phrase, "ischo-scho-amascho," that is, "cattle,
[742] cattle herd," is repeated. Van der Burgt considers this typical herdsman's greeting a kind of supplication to the main god, Imana, to grant the person greeted all kinds of good fortune which is epitomized precisely by cattle (No. 19, p. 530). In van der Burgt's opinion all salutations of the Barundi are of

231 terribly decimated since the admission of traders in 1906. Goats are not used for sacrifices.

235 Chickens (inkoko) are the only domestic fowl of the Barundi, but they are kept only in small numbers. It is possible to wander for days through the farms of central Urundi without seeing a single chicken. There are far more in Usige, in the Tanganyika area, where they are used exclusively for trade. [439] They are sold to the Moslem Negroes of the coastal area there who like chicken and who have been very numerous since the time of the Arabs and are now numerous due to European colonization. Not only the Batussi and Bahutu but also the [262] Batwa detest chicken meat; it is an age-old food taboo which is probably of totemic origin. The breed is the one generally found in East Africa, long-legged and mostly black. The chickens are not fed at all. They have to find their own food, and for this reason they are always thin. In most of interior [782] Urundi and in Ruanda they are only used for sacrificial occasions and as oracles. They are sacrificed to the manes of deceased family members or to the spirits, Imana, Rikiranga, and Riangombe, in the same manner as sheep and cattle (see p. 135). Certain cocks are also dedicated to Imana (No. 19, p. 453). [787] To consult the oracle, the chickens are killed, and the future or the uncertainties of the present are augured from the color and position of their viscera. This is done by the sorcerers or medicine men who will, of course, read the oracle as it suits them best. The Barundi regard the eating of chicken by 262 Europeans and the Moslem Negroes of the coast as abominable. They also abhor the eating of eggs, probably for totemic reasons and not because they regard [48] eggs as excrement of the chicken, as has often been claimed, sometimes even by themselves. They know quite well that the egg contains the embryo of the chicken and therefore that a person eating eggs is really eating chicken, thereby violating the food taboo.

235 753 Van der Burgt mentions another "superstitious" custom: when a hen is found eating its own eggs or killing its chicks, the egg shells are thrown on a crossroads to prevent the hen

423 in return by the Europeans are simply pocketed by the mutwale:
651 Misera contribuens plebs [contributing to the misery of the people?]!

311 The main interest of the Mutussi feudal lord, however, is
578 not the agricultural activity of the Bahutu but his cattle herds and their welfare. He is, therefore, chiefly interested in having abundant grazing land for his cattle. For this reason he is in most cases not at all enthusiastic if the Muhutu attempts to narrow down the already limited grazing area by clearing new fields for cultivation. This conflict of interests, which is of course decided by the Batussi in favor of grazing land and against agriculture, will continue even when this big country is some day opened to trade and commerce, and the Muhutu can sell his agricultural produce abroad. The conflict of
000 interests will become even more pronounced than it is at present, since the Bahutu will then attempt to increase their agricultural production and to sell more. These difficulties will only be alleviated by a thorough change in the conditions relating to pasture land and a partial shift to growing concentrated fodder and stall-feeding. These are problems which will be hard to solve in practice, but now that the central railroad has reached Lake Tanganyika and there are plans to increase the productivity of the contiguous large and populous areas, our leading statesmen in charge of colonial affairs will have to spend much thought on these questions. In the end it will be necessary to attack the fundamental evil pressing heavily upon these areas and retarding their development: the rule of the Batussi. For this purpose, however, more force is necessary than is available to us at present. If the colonial troops are not increased, the central railroad will nevertheless make it possible to concentrate military power more quickly than heretofore. Finally, the Bahutu will be with us against the Batussi when they realize that we are stronger than the latter.

241 At the end of this review of Barundi agriculture I shall
782 mention briefly a few religious customs connected with it (No. 19, pp. 20-21). The local head chief of each of the large feudal districts or provinces gives the order for the

241/ beginning of the cultivation of the fields as soon as the rainy
782 season has started. This is done after he and his sorcerers (abafumu) have practiced a number of ceremonies and have
[776] offered sacrifices to the principal god, Imana, the fertility god. The order of the head chief is passed on by the subchief to the lower batwale who again pass it on to the Bahutu. The Bahutu also offer small gifts to the god. When they begin to till the field, a sorcerer (umufumu) dances in front of them on the first day, shouting and gesticulating, to banish the evil spirits and to bless the seed.

241/ According to Father Gaisldinger the consecration of the
782 fields takes a somewhat different form in central Urundi
796 (Mujaga). At the beginning of the rainy season, after the high grass has been cut down and dug into the topsoil with hoes, work is started with a ceremony that is supposed to bring the blessing of Kiranga. [58] The men, painted yellow and red, line up with their hoes on the field which is to be tilled. Kiranga with two escorts (ivisjego) sits on the side of the field. A girl who is painted and richly adorned stands in front of the men in the center of the field. She now begins to jump, dance, and sing while cutting the high grass with her sickle. Still singing, she asks Kiranga for a successful sowing and curses the sorcerers and witches who might want to harm the field. The men promise her ample gifts of beer for the summer. The men walk slowly behind her turning the soil over with their hoes which they strike rhythmically into the ground. Depending on the type of seed, Kiranga is invoked by a particular name: Njamurimi when sorghum is sown, Njabaschi for peanuts, Rumambo for corn, etc. (No. 45, p. 316).

782 The heir presumptive to the throne of the king is believed
241 to hold in his clenched fist at birth a grain of seed of each of the
[644] crops of Urundi. If the corn or sorghum in a field has been dashed to the ground by hail or a cloudburst, the Muhutu who cultivated the plot runs around the field with a cattle bell, and by its noisy clanging he reminds the god to whom he has made sacrifices of his duty to protect the field from evil spirits. If this clanging of the bell is done properly, the crops lying on the ground will raise themselves to an upright position.

323 Once the pot is finished, it is first dried in the sun and then baked. For this purpose a large number of pots already baked are placed on the ground with their openings downward to serve as a support upon which a number of corn or sorghum stalks are placed in a crisscross fashion. The new pots are put close together on top of this. Since firewood is seldom avail-
[372] able, dry grass is piled on them and set on fire. One keeps adding dry grass until the pots are thoroughly baked. At last the finished pots are picked out of the ashes and cooled by sprinkling water on them. The pieces of ash adhering to them are not removed, however, for they are proof that the pot has
[563] not been used yet; no Murundi would ever buy a used pot from a Mutwa.

323 The Barundi and especially the Batwa make earthenware
415 vessels of different shapes and for different uses (Plate 48): small elongated pitchers with narrow necks for fetching and storing water and beer; large round or thick-bellied pots with a bigger opening for cooking; basins and bowls for drinking; bulging pots with conical lids for [79] storing butter; broad funnels for pour-
[274] ing liquids; and, in rare instances, also vessels with two open-
[782] ings and tobacco pipes with two bowls for votive purposes, like those found in Ruanda (No. 19, p. 452, and Fig. 11; No. 48, p. 318). Large three-legged pots are made only for religious rituals (p. 127).

323 Tobacco pipes (inkono j'itabi, injungu) deserve special
276 mention, although they play only a minor role among the Barundi people who are chiefly addicted to snuff. These pipes are made only by men and are much cleaner and more delicate than the other pottery products of the Barundi. Their basic shape is the same as in Ruanda, but individually they vary in form between pointed, funnel-shaped, and almost round bowls, depending on the whim of the producer or the customer (Plate 49).

415 None of the earthenware vessels of the Barundi has a flat
323 bottom or a handle; at best there is a raised edge for gripping.
439 Thus they always have to be supported by stones or placed into a hollow in the ground or into a ring formed of straw. It is true that in the Tanganyika district one may often see vessels with handles, beaks, or feet, but these are without exception products

396 Often the boat has to be transported a long distance to
496 its launching site. This may take several days. An umufumu (sorcerer) walks in front, scattering "salutary" powder on the road so as to make sure that the boat will reach the water undamaged. As soon as the boat is launched, the people participating in the celebration sing and dance on both sides of the river. Then a pot of banana beer is covered with river clay and
[782] placed inside the boat; the immediate participants drink from the pot and spit into the river to appease the evil spirits. The clay on the pot is rubbed by the participants on their foreheads and on those of the members of their family as protection against accidents. Then the boat is rowed across the river to the other shore, and the people there go through the same ceremonies. The consecration of the boat is concluded by a dance
[273] of the abafumu (medicine men) and ends in a general drinking bout. (No. 19, p. 66)

If after the launching of the boat it is discovered that it
396 lacks buoyancy or equilibrium, corrections are made by further carving with knife or ax or by putting stones inside for ballast. It has already been mentioned (p.73) that the dugouts have neither seats nor rudder. The way they are propelled has also been described.

[83] I have also already discussed the very simple technique (p.31) of making barkcloth (fig. bast felt).

The technique for hides and leatherwork is also very
281 simple. The Barundi on rare occasions use a piece of hide as their only garment. Otherwise they mainly use hides as blankets. The Batwa, however, prefer garments of hide to those made of barkcloth; consequently they are the most expert workers in leather (abaharra). However, both the Batwa and the Bahutu use the same technique. If it is merely a matter of firm, hard leather for lids, quivers, binding material for fastening arrowheads, etc., the hide is simply scraped clean and dried in the sun. If, however, soft, flexible leather (urusato) is needed for garments and blankets, it must be tanned. Since in Urundi the method of tanning and tawing is little known, as was originally the case in all other parts of Africa (No. 32a, p. 47), the hide

726 performing all kinds of sorcery in order to hurt the enemy. The chief accompanies his troops to the battle field only in really big wars when it is a matter of survival for the whole state. [782] Sacrifices to the protective spirits are made on the border stream -- [411] the borders are mostly formed by streams -- poisonous powders are spread on the paths used by the enemy, the future is read 787 from the entrails of sheep and chickens, and arrangements are 726 made accordingly. If possible, the sorcerer even arranges for one of the holy cattle (ingabe) to be sent against the enemy. If it penetrates the enemy's ranks this is regarded as a good omen to which even the enemy will submit; however, if it turns back in front of the enemy, it is regarded as a bad omen, and negotiations for peace are begun (No. 19, p. 277).

If in spite of all this an open battle takes place, one side will soon take to flight after a few men have been killed or 727 wounded by spears or arrows. The victors then pounce on the homesteads and burn them, after looting everything of value, especially the cattle. Upon their return, the women receive them with jubilant trilled cries. This marks the beginning of a feast with dancing, drinking, and eating meat, which often lasts several weeks, as long as the chief provides beer and cattle. If the enemy chief has been captured, he is usually killed. 721 Peace is hardly ever concluded. Usually a feud between chiefs is passed on to son and grandchild, according to the unwritten laws of vendetta. Thus, there is continual strife in the country unless a stronger hand enforces the peace. Our colonial forces [648] have had to do this several times and with success whenever there was a dangerous disturbance of the peace in our colony. Yet, according to a very wise governmental ordinance, the German Resident is not permitted to intervene in unimportant internal conflicts. The same applies to Ruanda where bloody quarrels occur often enough. For this reason these fights will continue for a long time, [88] until with the progressive effective occupation of the country by our troops they die down completely.

642 Until the German occupation, Urundi was a unified kingdom for many centuries. Of course this is true only with respect to its historical development and name, for in reality quite a

846 birth to a girl or a boy. When she leaves the house, her head is newly shaved, and she wears a broad headband made from a corn leaf, probably as a symbol of fertility and as an amulet.

The mother suckles her baby as long as she has milk and
853 as long as the physical condition of the infant seems to require it, which frequently is as much as three to four years. After giving birth to the child, she remains separated from her husband until her menstrual cycle begins again. However, if menstruation fails to occur, the separation is soon ended.

The birth of twins (amahassa) is greeted with mixed feel-
845 ings. Van der Burgt is of the opinion that it gives rise to joy because the Barundi attribute a religious meaning to the birth of twins which they regard as "ope incubi" [the result of intercourse with a spirit] (No. 19, p. 325). On the other hand, Gassldinger states that the birth of twins is considered a bad omen since twins are the favorites of Kiranga, and for this reason they will soon be taken away by him (die) unless the parents pay ransom by making large sacrificial offerings (No. 45, 1914, p. 314). I refrain from giving an opinion as to which
845 conception is the correct one. However, it is a fact that the
782 birth of twins is followed by extraordinary rites, sacrifices, and celebrations. The underlying reason [111] for this is probably that it is known from experience that twins are usually physically weak, and also they cannot get a sufficient amount of nourishment from the mother. As a result, both (or one of them) usually die unless Kiranga is propitiated by the offering of sacrifices. Upon receiving the news of the birth of twins, crowds of neighbors and friends gather. They sing and provide presents and large amounts of food which, however, are only intended for the spirits and disappear at night. A priest (kiranga) is called in. Aided by his assistants and numerous participants, he first performs the ceremony of the "holy spear" (see p. 134). By vener-
[776] ating this symbol, its patron, the great spirit Kiranga, master over all material things, is shown gratitude, and his special blessings are called down upon the twins and their parents (No. 19,
845 pp. 516, 324, 216). Then the young men, with their faces
535 painted red and yellow, perform ritual dances in the courtyard

845 of the hut to the accompaniment of rattles. These dances last
535 from four to six hours and induce real frenzy in the dancers. They form a circle, jump and contort their bodies bathed in perspiration, and sing rhythmical songs of short stanzas. A circle dance of the girls follows. They are painted and are adorned with leaves. In the meantime large amounts of beer are consumed. The celebration continues in this manner for two or three nights and even longer. In the end the priest once
845 more performs the great ceremony of the holy spear, and two
782 little lambs are dedicated to the god as substitutes for the twins. The lambs may not be slaughtered and are allowed to run around freely and eat whatever and wherever they desire. However, the dances and the drinking bouts often continue for two or three weeks longer (No. 19, p. 325; No. 45, 1914, p. 315).

847 Infanticide (kumuniga umwana) is rare among the Barundi, but it does occur, mainly because the mother wishes to avoid the tedious work of bringing up and feeding the baby. Nominally this is regarded as a punishable crime, but the offender is rarely punished since it is difficult to prove intent to kill (by suffocation). An infant is legally killed by the medicine man if it is
[826] born with teeth or if its upper incisors grow first (No. 4, p. 221).
[171] This is also reported by Lechaptois from the southernmost Bahima state, Ufipa (No. 47, p. 138). The Batwa, too, kill such infants.

553 As soon as the child's hair begins to grow or as soon as it is able to walk, it is given a name (isina) by the father. The mother and friends add still other names, so each Murundi has at least two or three names. No special celebration is connected with the naming of the child. There are a great variety of
551 names. They either indicate particular characteristics of the child or refer to certain events in its young life, or they result from some whim of the name-giver, for example: kitwe, thick-head; mbiriko, wood chip; ntarija, it does not cry; kimina, it walks upright; kiriwate, cattle hide; manwa, big mouth; mawamba, orphan; yamirwa, beer; inambu, hunger; tunguru, name of a bird. There are other, ugly Barundi names which

775 The spirits of the dead are, without exception, more or less evil and hostile to the living even if they were relatively good-natured when they were still alive. The dead person was forced to leave behind everything that he loved and cherished in his life, and for this reason he is filled with envy for those who survive and possess all these things. These jealous spirits, hostile to men and causing sickness, ruined crops, cattle epidemics, and other misfortunes, are the dreaded abasimu or imisimu (sing., umusimu); to repel, confine, appease them, or to win their favor forms the largest part of the thoughts and acts which occupy a Barundi's mind in his daily life. We find these primitive evil spirits among all the Bahima under the same name, abasimu or imisimu, even in the southern area of settlement, in Ufipa (No. 47, pp. 167-168). The envy and
775 hostility of the abasimu are soothed and assuaged by placing
782 valuable objects belonging to the deceased on his grave. Also, as often as possible morsels of food and parts of the objects formerly belonging to the deceased and now in use are offered as a sacrifice (see p.136). The incorporeal spirit eats or uses only the incorporeal part of these sacrifices, i.e., the "essence" of the proffered beer, meat, millet gruel, jugs, knives, arrows, hoes, etc. The sacrificial offerings are nothing but a premium to obtain greater security against the hostility of the abasimu. By no means can they be regarded as pious offerings to the revered and beloved ancestors. The Murundi only offers sacrifices to the manes because he is afraid of them. Yet a more effective method than making sacrifices is joining a
775 religious secret society, the religious fraternity of the ababandwa
794 of which we shall speak in greater detail below (p. 124). These ababandwa assume a privileged position in the realm of the spirits after their death. If their behavior within the society has been found correct, they come to Riangombe where, as imandwa, they form a kind of bodyguard of the god. They are, so to speak, the saints of the Barundi heaven.

776 Above the innumerable nameless abasimu and above the imandwa there is a stratum of higher spirits who are given names.

776 of cattle led by two sacred steers. He is thought to have a sacred
778 mountain administered by a priestess who wields great influence
793 and is even immune to the power of the king, although the latter keeps her under constant guard so as to insure that she fulfills her cult duties. If she neglects her duties, she and her closest relatives are executed upon the order of the king. Her office, it is said, begins and ends with the reign of the king, for after the king's death she has to take poison.

776 Father Gassldinger describes Kiranga as the "great
782 destroyer," the Lucifer of the Barundi. People appeal to him first in all their afflictions, misery, and fear, and it is to him that most sacrificial huts (akararo) are dedicated. Inside these huts there is, as a rule, a big three-legged earthen pot with three spouts into which the sacrifice is deposited. Besides beer, grain stalks constitute the main sacrificial offerings made in these huts. Horns of cattle are also burned in them as sacrifices (No. 45, 1913, p. 359 ff.).

776 It is characteristic of the confused conception which the Barundi have of the different personalities of their gods and spirits that they often mix up the terms and attribute the names of several gods to a single one of them. For example, one may hear them say: "Riangombe is powerful, he is Kiranga; Kagoro is also Kiranga, he is Sengoga." Kiranga is also called Rugaba, Ruhanga, Inganje, Njabaski, Indagarra, or Rukisa, or these names are used as epithets of Imana, and the word Imana itself is used as a plural concept (No. 45, 1913, p. 363). Among the names listed there are several which we already know, as shown above (p.120), from other Bahima states as the names of specific gods and spirits. In Urundi their images seem to have faded [122] so much that they are confused with one another, and the concepts people had of them seem to have been reduced to mere attributes or epithets of Imana who in any case has already become a collective term for "sacred" or "divine" rather than a personified god.

Riangombe is third among the gods. He is the supreme head of all good spirits (imandwa) whom Imana entrusted with the task of guiding human beings and protecting them against evil

778 The public cult sites used for common worship of the gods
[821] are erected wherever lightning has struck the ground, either where it injured or killed a person or a head of cattle or where it has just struck the ground. Lightning is regarded as sent by the god Imana himself (No. 19, p. 253). At such a place a circular piece of ground, two to three meters in diameter, is leveled and covered with straw. Manioc and fig branches are planted around it. Then, celebrating the ceremony of the sacred spear, the kiranga plants in the middle of it a shoot from a banana or a fig tree which is regarded as the temporary residence of the god, Imana-Rikiranga-Riangombe. uEvery passerby
[782] puts a little tuft of dry grass in front of the young tree in homage to the god (see grass greeting, p. 95). Sick people are brought to this site so that they may ask the god to grant them recovery (No. 19, p. 564). This kind of homage is also supposed to be helpful when asking for rain for the fields and herds. Usually
[346] some small grass huts are also erected at or near the sacrificial site; in these huts food and drink are sacrificed to the god. Often, however, such huts are absent.

778 [136] The second type of cult and sacrifice huts at whose
346 consecration the kiranga must participate is the private sacri-
782 fice huts (ivigabiro), dedicated to the spirits of the dead (imisimu or abasimu). Often, however, a sacrifice is also offered to the god Kiranga in one of these little private huts; it is then called akararo ka rugabo, i.e., the great master's humble quarters for the night (No. 46, p. 18). These little huts are erected inside the kraal next to the residential huts. In most cases their shape resembles that of the residential huts, but they are only one half to one meter high (Plate 18a). They are always constructed in a careless fashion. In fact, often a few branches or some bundles of straw or reed, inserted in the ground and tied together at the top in the shape of an arch, are considered sufficient. A little straw is spread underneath, and on it a few implements are placed as a sacrificial offering, for example, a piece of imanga wood which is used for amulets, a piece of bottle gourd, shaped like a bowl, which is used as a container for food, an old pot as a receptacle for beer, an old tobacco pipe, etc. In some areas of Urundi, for example, in

778 Usige, these little huts are constructed so as to have two en-
346 trances, the pot inside has two spouts, the ritual tobacco pipe
[782] has two bowls; all this is probably because they are supposed to serve both the spirit of the ancestor and his wife (see Fig. 11). Van der Burgt interprets this custom as being related to the supposed bisexuality of the manes (No. 19, p. 564), yet I could not find any proof of this.

[769] The Murundi is rarely satisfied with only one ikigabiro; usually there are three or four of them dedicated to the spirits of the three or four deceased family members who were closest to him. At one time I actually counted no less than eight such sacrificial huts in one kraal.

778 The huts are consecrated by the kiranga performing the
782 ceremony of the sacred spear. While the ceremony is in
796 progress, the family members eat several kinds of food next
769 to the little "votive chapel." This is done in honor of the ancestor to whom the hut is dedicated. They deposit a small amount of each dish and a little beer in the ikigabiro. Later this offering will be repeated each time that the ceremony of the sacred spear is celebrated for some reason or other by the family concerned. Not only millet gruel and pombe beer are offered; among prosperous families the sacrifice also includes the meat of chickens, goats, rams, and even beef.

769 According to the belief of the Barundi, the ancestral
782 spirit either chooses to make the hut erected in his honor his
778 permanent residence or at least he uses it as his temporary
775 quarters in which case he will then appear as a ghost in the neighborhood. The Murundi believe that the food offerings are eaten by the spirit when in reality they have been eaten by dogs, rats, or birds. If the food remains untouched, the Murundi finds comfort in the thought that the incorporeal spirit has enjoyed only the incorporeal parts of the food, beer, and tobacco.

778 According to van der Burgt, there exists, in addition to
769 the two cult sites mentioned above, a third type which, however,
825 appears to be extremely rare. These are closed huts, two to
775 three meters high, found in the neighborhood of the sacred groves close to the old royal kraals. The one seen by van der

784 There are special rules dealing with the consumption of water. The washing and drinking water in a house must never be completely used up. Every evening a little water is left in [782] a jug so that the manes can refresh themselves at night. This is called amasi y'Imana. The family will use this remaining water the next morning for washing themselves (No. 19, p. 6). [788] A person may not cross a river without first painting a line on his forehead with the mud from the shore.

Numerous rules affect family life. A father never enters [606] the hut of his daughter-in-law. Also, until his married [593] daughters have given birth to a child, the father may not see them unveiled (No. 19, p. 6). A woman who has just given [846] birth to a child cannot leave the house for three days, since otherwise the baby, but not the mother, would get sick. If [845] twins are born, a religious ceremony has to be performed (see p. 110), since otherwise the children would die. A son-in-law 606 must avoid his mother-in-law; a daughter-in-law must avoid her father-in-law. If the young people nevertheless meet them, they must run or at least turn away from their parents-in-law. This is considered a sign of great respect. Its non-observance would be a serious insult and would lead to breaking the engagement [sic]. Basically, however, the reason for this is probably the fear of the taboo against contact with close relatives which is connected with conceptions of exogamy. A violation of this taboo is believed to bring harm and impurity upon the violator. This taboo is strictly observed by many peoples [171] of East Africa, for example, by the Wangoni, Wagogo, Massai, Wakamba, Basoga, Baganda, and others. (No. 30, Vol. II, pp. 400, 403, 412, 420, 461, 508). In Urundi the young couple is bound by the rule to avoid their parents-in-law until they have children, but after that the young people must show the greatest attention and subservience to the wishes of their parents-in-law. It often happens that the demands made by the latter are so exacting that the young couple has hardly enough time left for taking care of their own housework and the fields (No. 23, 1914, p. 122).

482 The pad used for carrying burdens on the head (ingata) 784 has to be treated with particular care. No one may sit on it for

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

In order not to irritate the dead various observances and interdicts must be complied with. The 'cult' of the *bazimu* is accordingly aimed at appeasing them. They are frequently offered a few drops of milk or hydromel. Sometimes they require the immolation of a goat or even a bull. A girl spends some time in the small hut dedicated to a *muzimu* in order that he may enjoy having a woman. Other practices are, however, more difficult to interpret. Water may be given to the *muzumu* while at the same time he is told very loudly that it is milk. The explanation given by most informants is that *bazimu* are rather stupid and that these mock offerings are not given to the direct ancestors, who are respected, but only to collaterals who, as *bazimu*, are hated. However, it is not very clear how one can at the same time fear the powerful *bazimu* and deceive them so grossly.

Among the *bazimu*, a small group, *Ryangombe* and his *imandwa*, is particularly powerful and important. *Ryangombe* is said to have been the chief of a small band of friends and clients. He was accidentally killed by a buffalo during a hunting party. In order not to leave *Ryangombe*, his friends threw themselves on the bull's horns. *Imana* gave them a special place, the Karisimbi, a former volcano, where they have a notably more agreeable life than the other *bazimu*. To have the privilege of joining them there, Banyarwanda have to be initiated into the sect (*kubandwa*). The members of the sect believe that non-initiates go after death into an active volcano, the Nyiragongo, where they suffer torments of fire. We have here an interesting instance of conflicting ideologies in a non-literate society: the common belief that all *bazimu* reside in the underworld and the belief of initiates, who are extremely numerous, in a mildly paradisal life for themselves and a hell for other people. During their earthly sojourn the initiates have other advantages, for the powerful *imandwa* do not harm them and indeed protect them from the injurious activities of other spirits.

The relations between *Ryangombe* and *Imana* seem to be conceived as those between a client (*mugaragu*) and his patron (*shebuja*), persons who are linked by that typical Ruanda institution called *buhake*, in which a man in an inferior situation in the scale of wealth and social power asks another to grant him his protection and the possession of some cows; in return the client becomes his patron's man and owes him various services. *Ryangombe* is believed to be protected by *Imana* and to act more or less as his intermediary with regard to the initiates. But *Imana* is not present in *Ryangombe's* paradise. The cult of *Ryangombe* has importance as a force of social cohesion. Batutsi, Bahutu, and Batwa may all be initiated. This function is quite overtly stressed: *Ryangombe* has said himself that he should be called upon by everybody.

Diviners and Sorcerers

Two categories of men have special relations with the invisible world: diviners (*bapfumu*) and sorcerers (*barozi*). The former are interpreters of *Imana's* will, which they can discern in the figures made by knuckle-bones,

644 231 778 This animal is known by the name of Rusanga and lives with a few cows who bear the same designation, insanga (plural of Rusanga).

The bull is brought onto royal grounds from time to time, when sacrifices are performed, in its capacity as official representative of all the kingdom's cattle. Usually flanked by two cows, the bull is goaded forward by its keepers to the shelter consecrated to the spirits. [769 782] The king or the sorcerer who officiates in his name presents the animals to the royal ancestral spirits. "Here," he says, "are the herds which you have left us. We go on caring for them, and their numbers grow incessantly. Divert epizootic diseases from our cattle /357/ and spare us calamities of all kinds. Make events favorable to us, and the Europeans (who occupy the land) benevolent!" etc.

[773] In the mind of the Hamites, the observance of this rite is connected with the memory of Gihanga and his daughter Nyirarutchaba, who are credited with the introduction of cattle into Ruanda.

There is every reason to believe that in both practical and implicit fashion, the Batutsi honor thereby the memory of the Hamitic prince who actually introduced the first beeves into the country. The legend of Nyirarutchaba gradually replaced the historical event.

If one grants, on the other hand, that the Batutsi are descended from the Egyptians or from a related people, it should not be surprising to find certain vestiges of the Apis cult at the Ruanda court.

The existence of sacred herds called inyambo, and their presentation at important festivals may be interpreted in similar fashion. Their visit to the capital under the above-mentioned circumstances has the same meaning and the same sacrificial character.

Once the ceremony is completed, the animals are led back to pasture near the capital.

When the bull dies it must be replaced immediately with another. The selection which takes place is known under the name of "enthronement" or "new reign" (kwimika in Runyarwanda). This shows the importance of the event itself and the value attached to this curious tradition.

[262] [766] Although the Banyarwanda are extremely fond of meat and even eat the corpses of animals, they are strictly forbidden to taste the flesh of the sacred bull. The animal is buried, and so are the inyambo.

794 776 9. Nkonjo, another enslaved servant girl, who was first to bring the sad news of Ryangombe's death.

She is offered a broom as a gift, the symbol of her work as a slave, and a small storage granary or some produce as a reminder that she was in charge of watching over the harvest and of attending to the household tasks.

10. Mashira.

The Banyarwanda, forgetful of their own history, regard him as Ryangombe's child. We have better reasons to believe that he was no other than the celebrated magician-petty king acknowleged as one of the most powerful sorcerers.

[711] In ritual sessions, his representatives assume a majestic bearing and hold in their hand an iron spear made all of a piece (igihosho), which is a sorcerer's emblem symbolizing strength. His followers [415] offer him an earthen pitcher of special design, with two openings and a drinking tube in each to permit the spectators to drink the hydromel it contains in honor of the magician.

His peculiar cry is "shi shi shi ...."

11. Mutwa, one of Ryangombe's companions, is invoked especially by the Batwa. /366/

This figure seems to have been invented for the sake of the [782] Batwa. He is offered gifts of beans, meat, milk, and sorghum bread which the members of this despised group share with delight.

The selection of these particular foods, which are offered first as a sacrifice to Mutwa, aims at pleasing him by satisfying his hunger. This is because the Negrillos, whose prototype (or ancestor) he portrays, do not always eat their fill, and these foods appeal to them as the ideal dishes they most desire.

New members were added later to this gallery of demigods. We shall mention only the best-known ones.

1. The Liberator Kibogo, son of King Ndahiro, is often invoked for rain.

[782] 2. The Bagoyi, lake-shore dwellers, offer libations of beer to Mwungeri, son of Nyankaka, who perished in the Lake Kivu disaster.

3. The inhabitants of the Bwana-Mkali honor in turn Rumana

178
643 the vanquished that the natives sometimes relate to each other secretly and fearfully in the evening by the fire.

4. The best known of those customs is the punishment of the
178 Bachuku and Bayumbo, who are from Bukunzi land, linked to the
643 Kinyaga province.
782 The story of the misdeed which gave rise to this penalty is told in Histoire du Règne de Ruganzu II /The History of the Reign of Ruganzu II/ /Book III, not translated/.

Because the bull in one of the great king's herds had been killed, the king himself proceeded to take a blazing revenge there and then by having two young men and two young women killed in the valley called Nyakafunzo.

"My spear," cried the angered monarch, "I shall henceforth leave it among you so that you may give it children. At every change of reign, you shall surrender a young man and a young woman to expiate your misdeed." The royal envoys, therefore, would appear whenever a new king succeeded to the throne and claim their human tribute.

The young man was killed on the spot at Nyakafunzo. A dagger was plunged into his armpit. The blood was gathered into a wooden jar which was then taken into enemy country in accordance with directives from the capital.

The shedding of this cursed blood guaranteed the defeat of those inhabitants who had offended the king /465/ or who were at war with him. The corpse of the unfortunate one was left on the spot, where the hyenas soon disposed of it. . . . As for the young woman who had to be supplied by the Bachuku, it was agreed that she should be chosen among mothers who were suckling a baby girl. Her lot was less fearsome. She was given in marriage to the Bumbogo, where she had to attend to the cultivation of sorghum and eleusine, whose "first fruits" were taken to court for the great annual festival celebrated there at that time. As a further contribution to this custom, the Bachuku also supplied the flour mill used to grind the sorghum and eleusine.

An earthen jug and the large household spoon, or spatula, (umwuko), used to make bread (umutsima) were sent along with the millstones.

178 643 782 The Blacks insist that the custom was not followed when the present king ascended the throne in 1896. The bloody events which took place at that time caused it to be overlooked.

It is not certain either that the Bakunzi, or people from Bukunzi, lent themselves to this custom willingly, considering its odiousness and the independence they were beginning to show in their dealings with the Hamitic king.

Privileges and Favors at Court

661 644 In the course of this work, there has been frequent mention of exemptions, franchises, and immunities granted to individuals or families. The reader is advised to look into Fondation du Royaume hamite /Founding of the Hamitic Kingdom/ and Histoire du Règne de Ruganzu II (History of the Reign of Ruganzu II) /Books II and III, not translated/, in order to familiarize himself with the subject.

He will find there the approximate time when those rights were granted and the reasons for their existence, and he will be surprised to encounter instances of regional autonomy.

We shall speak here only of certain favors or /466/ privileges of a special character, granted for a specific period of time or even permanently.

Elevation to noble rank falls into the second of these categories.

1. Elevation to Noble Rank

563 644 554 565 The Batwa, as we said earlier, are a caste despised by the Bahutu as well as by the Batutsi.

It is regarded as a dishonor not only to contract matrimonial unions with them, but also in making them commensal. There have been exceptions to this type of ostracism, however. In reviewing the past, one finds some Batwa who were raised to noble rank and placed on the same level as the Batutsi.

Others gained practical nobility in the course of time.

The best-known example is that of the Mutwa /singular of Batwa/ Busiete, to whom Yuhi III Gahindiro gave his own daughter Mulangamirwa in marriage as a reward for his devotion and services.

585 He hands it to her, lifts the skin in which he is dressed, and exposes his thigh with the words: "ndakuhaye omurundi, uzachukura inka yo kukuhaliki (I give you my leg, it will become a bull for you, that will mount you)."

The gourd which the man hands over is a symbol for the belly of a pregnant woman, and the ceremony symbolically expresses the wish of the man that she bear him children. The bride walks through the courtyard and enters the house where the marriage ceremony is to be continued. There she gives her future mother-in-law the gourd, kisabo, for safekeeping. She also leaves her the gourd she brought along and the two baskets of presents. The [182] second gourd is very carefully preserved, for in it the young wife [222], after the birth of her child, brings beer to the home of her parents to sacrifice to the manes. In this way she requests the manes not to harm her child. Little children are given liquids from the same gourd. It must be quite new and must not have been used previously, even for water.

Afterwards the guests separate within the house. The women go to their section of the house, the mbele, opposite the entrance; the men remain in the ikirambi, the middle of the house. The basangwa, guests of the bridegroom, sit on one side; the bahelekeza, members of the bridal procession, sit on the other. The uninvited guests remain in the courtyard outside the hut.

After everyone has drunk copiously of the beer, they ask for food. One of those present suggests that they begin with the marriage ceremony, since it is getting late. The bridegroom gets up, takes a container of milk, and goes to the women's section. The women resist and do not let him get near the bride. The bridegroom violently drives them away and strides toward the girl who is sitting on the ground with her legs spread apart. He kneels in front of her, spits milk on her breasts, and says as he rises: "mumpe impundu, ndalongoye (give me shouts of joy, I have married)."

This is the core of the entire marriage ceremony. Unmarried girls may not be present when this takes place. The parents of the girl and the brothers of her father are not present at the wedding. They celebrate the daughter's marriage with beer in their own home.

585 842 After this ceremony one of the young husband's sisters grinds flour, makes millet mush, and distributes it among the small children. This is done in order to guarantee the young couple numerous progeny. The same girl prepares food for the young wife on the following day.

585 782 The marriage ceremonies are concluded with the sacrifice of a goat. After the children have eaten their millet mush, the head of the family says: "We are going to eat." The guest reply that the women would like to wash their hands. The women do not agree with this and say: "We shall eat after the men have finished." Then the head of the family has a goat brought to him. After this is done, the guests look at the goat critically and say that it is not beautiful enough. Then another is fetched. This, also, does not satisfy the demands of those present. Then a third one is brought. This can be accepted if it is beautiful. After the goat has been accepted, it is beaten with a stick while being driven to the bridegroom's house. It is killed near his bed with kicks and blows, not with a knife in the usual way.

This ceremony supposedly indicates how the wife would have been treated if this sacrifice had not been made. According to another version [223], it means that the woman should be as soft and yielding as the goat that had all its bones broken. The meat must be divided among those present, otherwise the marriage would be childless. The men eat it on the same day; the women take it home for the children, because in Mulera they themselves may not eat goat's meat.

585 The men eat the meat along with millet mush. After everyone has eaten and drunk his fill, the guests disperse in the morning. The guests of the bridegroom accompany the guests of the bride for a short distance and honor them in this way.

The young husband soon returns, takes the firewood that has been prepared, and lights two fires at the places where the women and the men were seated. The bride goes out with the guests but immediately returns to her mother-in-law, where she remains. The mother-in-law prepares a meal, but the young bride refuses to eat it. The husband must persuade his hungry wife to do so by giving her presents.

In the evening the mother-in-law tries to prevail upon the wife to go to her husband's hut. The wife stubbornly resists yielding to

766 of Urundi is dried and stretched out on a four-legged frame to be
643 worshipped. It is exposed until the frame is eaten by termites
[782] and collapses. Only then is the corpse wrapped up and buried at the same spot while many human sacrifices are made. The bodies of Ruanda kings, on the other hand, are dessicated by fire, whereupon the frame on which they lie and the entire hut are reduced to ashes. The death by fire of an entire family in its hut is said to be a favorite method of suicide among the Batutsi.

765 In conclusion we must mention an observation of Dr. Kandt (2):

2. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 476.

"The Wanjaruanda, a tribe living deep in the interior without any contact with Western ideas, say 'ukwirabura (to be black)' when they mean 'to be in mourning.' They say, 'ukwera (to be white)' when they mean 'the period of mourning is past.' This is all the more strange since the two colors in no way appear in dress, decoration, etc., to indicate mourning or the cessation of mourning."

Chapter 11

The Clan

614 Protection of the Individual. The basis of social organization in Ruanda as well as in the other parts of the interlacustrine region is the clan or blood relationship which is here known as umuryango.

The clan represents a society whose membership is replenished by natural increase, for every child belongs to its father's clan. As a result, every clan is actually a union of families closely or distantly related on the male side. Outsiders are admitted to the clan only in exceptional cases. This happens in Mulera, for example, when a family has only daughters and no sons. Since the [597] lack of male descendants would weaken the fighting force of the clan, families adopt sons-in-law as a precaution. In such cases the children are said to belong to their mother's clan and not to that of their father who in this way relinquishes the interests of his relatives.

769 The bazimu, the spirits of the dead, are feared. They are not good. They are responsible for the misfortunes and torments that plague one. In Mulera, at any rate, this may be related to the well-known unfortunate position of old men.

Every father of a family offers sacrifices to his ancestors and his deceased relatives in the ndaro, the small grass huts near his compound and the place where the spirits dwell. Ndaro means "sleeping place," "resting place," and, according to Father Buisson, is derived from the verb kurara "to sleep." I should like to point out, however, the similarity between this word and ndako which in the Bangala and Ababua [Babua] dialects simply means "house." Sacrifices are also made in the sacred niche of every hut.

782 769 For sacrifices to the manes, a fire is built in front of the huts and around it sticks are placed in the ground, to which are fastened small bits of meat, lumps of umutsima, etc. Small vessels (imperezo) of beer are also set out. These offerings are taken from the meat and umutsima (stiff millet mush) which the sacrificer brought with him. The rest he eats himself.

[299] Offerings are also placed inside the huts. Frequently the more valuable offerings are only temporarily exposed. Later they are eaten by the family of the sacrificer. This is said to be the case when, in accordance with custom, the foreleg of a slain animal is offered for a deceased girl. This is not always true, however, for I repeatedly saw rotting forelegs of goats hanging in the ndaro. "To offer to the spirits" is called kutonora bazimu. To the spirits of one's parents the ribs and entrails of slain animals are usually offered.

[415]

775 823 Fig. 162. Sacrificial Vessel for Beer, Mulera. (1/4 actual size. III E13096. 8 centimeters high.)

Underworld. Not all the spirits of the dead remain in the vicinity of their ndaro to be taken care of by their families and to lead a peaceful existence. Many spirits, after death, live in the volcanoes, and the activity of these fire mountains is connected with them.

According to the Balera, Ryangombe is said to live in Muhawura with the souls of those who were dedicated to him in life. They constitute his court and his retinue.

At the court of Ryangombe there are not infrequently angry disputes among his retinue. Then they usually throw stones, and

178 religious character was already known through Captain Hermann,
824 and they are referred to simply as Imana trees.
211 It seems to be chiefly the Batutsi who venerate the memorial trees. The fig trees on the heights are most numerous and most beautiful in places where the Batutsi have the greatest power. On the other hand, it is said that sometimes at night Bahutu secretly take wood from the sacred trees. The Batwa, who fear no one and who have also preserved their independence in spiritual matters, do [301] this quite openly in the daytime, but there are not enough of them to destroy the trees and change the landscape.

776 Imana and Batabazi. In our general discussion of the interlacustrine region [not translated], we pointed out that the spirits of dead kings and rulers have a special place among the manes. They are distinguished from the undifferentiated mass of bazimu by their greater power. They are known and feared in larger circles. This is the case, for example, with the spirit of Kimeni in Kissaka. It is not impossible that from this we shall be able to explain the contrast between the rule of Ryangombe in the underworld, which seems to be patterned after the organization of Batutsi states, and the familial anarchy of the ordinary manes. However, it is doubtful whether the central figure of the Ruanda pantheon, the creator of the world, Imana, can be associated with the spirits of the dead. He probably must be considered as derived from foreign influence. Perhaps this also explains the underworld residence of the court of Ryangombe, whereas the rest of the bazimu remain with their living relatives.

776 Imana is the lord of lightning, thunder, and rain. One ad-
787 dresses him with the words: "Nabone Imana yandemie ikalema tata, na sokokuru, na sokuruza, na mukaka, na mukakuruzu, na mama. Ikankiza, nkuko yabakidjidji! (Favor me, Imana, who created my father, and my grandfather, and the father of my grandfather, and my grandmother, and the mother of my grandmother, and my mother. He has healed me, how he has healed me!)"

No sacrifices are made to Imana. Thus, he plays no part in the cult and satisfies only, if we may so express it, a philosophical need.

776 Ryangombe's grandfather Nyundo, his father Bavinga, and his wife
173 Nina Ryangombe. The last name, however, simply means "mother of Ryangombe."

The most important bagaragu (clients) of Ryangombe are Binego, Kavuna, Mugasha, Kakuku, Kagoro, Senyakazana, and Rubaga.

Their subordination to Ryangombe is always strongly emphasized. We can see this also in the fact that before sacrifices can be made to them sacrifices must be made to Ryangombe. Rubaga is the only exception. One can bring him gifts without first having made offerings to Ryangombe.

•782 Special forms and ceremonies are observed in offerings
776 made to these individual spirits.

In sacrificing to Binego the person stands with lowered head and murmurs: "Binego bya Kadjumba nyamunega amafizi amabuguma akapfa numulindu. Lukaraba nkaba n'inkuba yadjandja. Ulwamba lw'impiri namaganya y'inkuba aseseka ntanyobwe umushaidja mukanya." I could not find out what this means.

[346] Small straw huts are built to Kavuna. He is offered banana beer with added honey in twin-necked pots. Formerly the sacrificer covered himself with a leopard skin. As he makes the sacrifice, he stretches out his hands and sings: "Kavuna ushime ntango yawe (Kavuna, accept my offering)."

If a person makes a sacrifice to Mugasha, he winds the bark of banana stalks around his legs, arms, and neck. He holds the thin end of a stick in his right hand, stamps his feet, beats the ground with the stick, and repeats: "Mugasha akatema katoke niribiriri, niribirimbo."

Kakuku was an old paralyzed slave. If a person wishes to address him, he first smears his arms with ashes, then he scratches his skin, weeps, and sighs. Peas which are sacrificed are held with the finger bent, because the paralytic could eat only in this manner.

Kagoro is offered small arrows of wood or iron with the words, "busenda bwa Kagoro."

Senyakazana is offered peas and lentils, called inkore.

Rubaga is the greatest after Ryangombe, and he is also offered cows.

[304] Umugani rwa Ryangombe. To Ryangombe is dedicated the muku or mulinzi, a tree he once climbed to save himself from a buffalo that attacked him on the hunt. The Banyakissaka have the following story about it.

Umugani rwa Ryangombe
Story of Ryangombe

Ngoni Ryangombe lya Babinga, ba Nyundo, ngoni Nyamuniga,
That is Ryangombe the Babinga of Nyundo, who is Nyamuniga,

amafizi nayo awabuguma akapfan nimirindo.
? ? ? ? ?

Ryangombe yaliafite nyina, akanga kumumwira. Ryangombe
Ryangombe has mother refused to obey Ryangombe

ashaka kuja kuhiga mwishamba. Nyina nyiwa Ryangombe:
wants to go hunting on the plain. Mother says[to] Ryangombe:

ati mwana wanje leka kuja kuhiga; ati nalose
so child [of] mine let go hunting; so I dreamed

umugezi, utemba uja luguru; ati uzawambuka, ngenda,
a river, which flows upward; so you cross it, you go,

ntuzagaruka. Ati kandi nalose ulukwavu lutagira ishira,
do not come back. So later I dream a rabbit without tail,

uzalwicha, ntuzalubamba. Ati kandi nalose
you will kill it, without obeying. So later I dream

Nyakisha Chimepenebere au Nyakitindi, ati azakulemutsa,
Nyakisha Chimpenebere or Nyakitindi, so she will greet,

atazakulekula Ryangombe. Ati kandi nalose imbogo
she will not leave Ryangombe. So later I dream a buffalo

794 575 Secret Societies. The cult of Ryangombe is practiced by the secret societies of babandwa. These societies unite men and women, Batutsi and Bahutu.

In Nduga, above all, the secret societies of babandwa embrace a considerable part of the population. There, as well as in the rest of Ruanda, they seem not only to represent well-organized religious groups, but also to play a role in politics.

This is said to be especially true of the Biheko cult, for example. It is blamed for many a disturbance in the northern part of Ruanda. Biheko was apparently a woman consecrated to Binego, the disciple of Ryangombe. She was killed by Lwabugiri who, it seems, in doing this fought the particularistic tendencies of the north. In order to escape the revenge of her spirit, Lwabugiri permitted his subjects to be initiated into the cult she represented. Since that time, the Biheko cult is said to have made great progress in Mulera and Bugoye.

According to Father L. Classe (1) Biheko was a man from

1. Classe, Father, Moeurs et Coutumes des Bagoye [Manners and Customs of the Bagoye] (Les Missions Catholiques, 1905), p. 440.

Ndorwa whose brothers were Lutindangezi, Gahaya, and Maloli.

[778] In Mulera the iron rods known as ikrosho are connected with the Biheko cult. They were already described in Mpororo by Stuhlmann (2) and associated with the Nyawingi cult.

2. Stuhlmann, F., Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika [Into the Heart of Africa with Emin Pasha] (Berlin, 1894), p. 253.

794 575 782 763 The dogma is somewhat as follows. Only those consecrated to Ryangombe may contact him, but it is necessary to establish contact with him. It is only through sacrifices that one can persuade Ryangombe to let the spirits that have been driven out return to the birunga (volcanoes) [306] and free the living from

794 them. This is of very great importance, especially in cases of
575 illness, for illness is, of course, caused by the spirits. That is
782 why sick people are often initiated into the secret societies of
753 babandwa. Sometimes this is done when they are already so ill that they are not quite conscious during the ceremonies, but the hope is that through the initiation the sick person will gain such a powerful protector that the latter will make possible the recovery of the new member. Despite these expectations, people do not omit the sacrifices to the manes of the sick person in order to receive their favor.

794 The existence of the [secret] society divides the population
575 into two classes: the consecrated and the profane. The consecrated ones, in turn, are divided into two subgroups, the babandwa who conduct the ceremonies and the rusingo, ordinary initiates of the lower grade. This creates a hierarchy in which discipline is exercised through fear of the supernatural power of the chosen ones. Hence the secret societies are powerful factors in social integration.

The hierarchy of secret societies does not correspond to the territorial division into chieftainships and exogamous clans. It creates dependencies that bridge these divisions, and the social structure is strengthened by the addition of these "supernatural powers."

794 It would be futile to speculate whether the states of the
575 interlacustrine region could exist without secret societies. It is
563 very probable, however, that the rule of the Batutsi and Bahima minorities is contingent on the organization of these societies. The ruling element seems to be disproportionately stronger among the babandwa, whose sons inherit their rank, than among the rest of the population, probably because the Ryangombe cult was allegedly a Batutsi cult originally. This view was expressed to me repeatedly in one way or another by missionaries and natives. It is supported by Rehse (1) who says that Ryangombe is regarded

1. Rehse, H., Kiziba, Land und Leute [Kiziba, Land and People] (Stuttgart, 1910), p. 134.

794 root in the mouth of the sick man and keeps it there until the
575 man collapses, unconscious. Then a fire is lighted, and the hoe, arrow, and kimwanda are deposited beside it. Two spirits are invoked, for example, Ryangombe and Mugasha. The woman who represents Ryangombe is addressed by the man with the words: [182] "Come, oh Ryangombe! Heal and receive your man!" This prayer is called kwentongeza, that is, to let oneself be received, to be consecrated, consecration. With her mouth closed, the woman who represents Ryangombe imitates the mooing of a cow. This is called kutangana and is supposed to mean that the spirit is present. Then one of the members says: "I was kutanganirwa through the spirit N.N.," and the man hands the woman a drinking straw. "Ryangombe" takes beer into her mouth and squirts it on the sick person. This millet beer is kept in an earthen jug; it is made from the variety called endimasi which is dedicated to Ryangombe. Then the woman repeats the same prayer as she turns to the man. He replies with a sigh which is supposed to indicate the presence of Mugasha. The spirit also drinks through a straw which is handed to him by the woman. He drinks banana beer (luhagwa) from a calabash and spits it out on the sick person. Then the mugogo takes some ntendere from his kimwanda, gives the sick person a second portion of the white snuff in order to make him return to consciousness, hits him on the head with the kimwanda, and the sick person wakes up. This concludes the ceremonies of the first day. The baishebuhemba remain overnight in the house of the sick person. They live there for the four days that the ceremony lasts.

On the next evening the assembly goes into the bush a considerable distance from the huts to a place known as kagondo kato. The spirits are invoked in the same way as on the previous evening. The members drink beer and spit it on the sick person who, if he recovers, belongs to the spirits. Then the mugogo takes the knife and the axe and says threateningly to the sick person: "I shall kill you if you tell others what I am doing with you." The woman takes the stick, places it on the neck of the sick man, and threatens him in the same way. Then a few dances are performed, and they go home. This ceremony is known as mutalongo or kumeramera.

794 575 184 In general, the similarities are greater than the differences. We should like to mention only the rubbing with kaolin, the squirting of beer, the lighting of a fire at the ceremonies, the practice of making the candidate lie on the ground, the dances at the mulinzi tree, the tests, the threatening of the candidate, the female representative of Ryangombe, the connection between Ryangombe and millet beer which is used only in the northern steppes, and finally the secret cult language of the initiated.

Another very important fact is that the representative of Mugasha, the spirit of the waters and banana groves, unlike the female representative of Ryangombe, drinks banana beer from a gourd.

794 575 198 Secret Language. The babandwa use a special language in their rites, which is not known by the rest of the population and which belongs with the rest of the babandwa secrets, ibanga lyi bandwa. Father Van Thiele referred to this language in Ussuwi as luchwezi; I was told in Kissaka and Nduga (Marangara) that it is called lubandwa. I shall now make a list of the luchwezi words collected by Father Van Thiele and place them parallel to the lubandwa words collected by Father C. Lecoindre. I did not succeed in finding other data about the secret language. [317]

[601] In Kissaka the babandwa never mention the name of the father-in-law, and he is referred to as ikitari lwa hurawaa.

794 575 •782 Sacrifice. The manes are the only spirits to whom everyone may sacrifice. The most important sacrifices are made to Ryangombe and his disciples and these, as we have already said, may be performed only by the initiated (babandwa).

Father Van Thiele has the following to say about these ceremonies.

The mubandwa who is requested to make the sacrifice goes to the house of the donor the evening before to make the necessary preparations.

The next morning before sunrise the entire family and their dependents accompany the mubandwa with his helpers to the place of sacrifice, which is located at a crossroads. The father takes his bow and arrow. At the place the bound sacrificial animal is held by the sorcerer's attendants. The mubandwa kills the animal. The previously prepared secret objects are dipped in the

[Text continues on page 253 - Analyst]

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198
104

Translation	Kinyaruanda	Lubandwa (Marangara)	Luchwezi (Ussuwi)	Lubandwa (Kissaka)
Tobacco	–	–	ihukula	–
Forest	ishamba	–	kichaka	–
Water	amazi	–	matingi	–
Way	inzira	–	muhura	–
Teeth	–	–	manono	–
Goat	ihene	inguruka	uzwika	kianwa
Tongue	urulimi	–	lurigizi	–

794
575
782

blood of the animal and placed on the chests, the foreheads, and, last of all, the backs of those present. Then the mubandwa spreads out small bundles of green twigs, muyambo, on the animal. When he has given the order to disperse, everyone begins to move. One person after another walks over the sacrificial animal and goes home without looking back; otherwise the sacrifice would lose all its meaning. In this procession the father goes first, then the sons, then the chief wife, followed by the other wives and their daughters. The mubandwa and his attendants remain at the place of sacrifice. [318] If someone passes in the vicinity of the sacrificial remains, he takes care to pick up a leaf, spit on it, and throw it in the direction of the remains, saying: "Do not pursue me (spirit, umuzimu, misfortune, or illness)." This refers to the fact that the evil, the spirit, or whatever has been cast off through the sacrifice might attack a passer-by at the crossroads.

The Batutsi sacrifice cows, sheep, and chickens, whereas the sacrificial animal of the Bahutu is the goat and, more rarely, sheep.

As far as I could ascertain, the meat of sacrificed cows is distributed to all present if the prophecy is favorable. If the entrails prophesy unfavorably, the meat is given to the Batwa. The family of the donor does not eat the meat of sacrificed sheep, but gives it to the mubandwa and his helpers who have performed the sacrifice. The ceremony described by Father Van Thiele thus undoubtedly refers to the sacrifice of a sheep, which he forgot to mention. The meat of sacrificial goats is eaten by the Bahutu who

have made the sacrifice and by their friends.

The Batutsi wear the fat and bones of sacrificed sheep as amulets around their necks. The fat, like the chicken entrails, is worn on the chest in small containers fastened to a string of bast.

Fig. 165. Sacrificial Vessel for Beer, Mulera. (1/4 actual size. L15173. 21 centimeters high.)

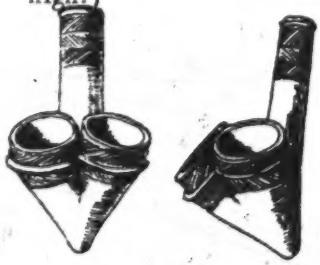

Fig. 166. Tobacco Pipes with Twin Bowls, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E6595. 9 centimeters long.)

Beer is offered to Ryangombe in jugs with two openings. The sacrificer drinks out of one opening, Ryangombe out of the other. The double-bowled tobacco pipes seem to serve the same purpose.

When they are making a sacrifice, the Batutsi may not wear cotton material. They must be dressed in the fringed cowhide known as mukane.

Among medicine men Father Van Thiele distinguishes two different professional secret societies, the bakoni and the bageiye, who are initiated with the banga ceremony. Bageiye heal persons suffering from snake bite.

I had no opportunity to see a bageiye perform in Ruanda. When a man was bitten by a snake on the way to the Muhawura

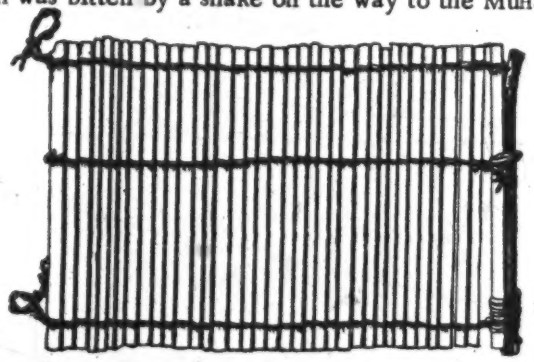

Fig. 178. Splints for Immobilizing Broken Bones, Ruanda. (1/4 actual size. III E13742. 26 centimeters long, 20 centimeters wide.)

volcano, [327] the natives wanted to tie the head of the dead snake on the wound as an antidote.

The following account by Father Van Thiele about a preventive treatment for the greatly feared disease of smallpox (bushita) is very interesting.

The medicine man first provides everyone with amulets consisting of gourd seeds. Even the water jug gets its amulet. Then he gives a preventive medicine which he boils. After the boiling he blows air into it through a straw so as to make foam which is rubbed all over the body. The efficacy of the medicine is increased by making incisions in five different places: three incisions over the right eye and one incision each on the right shoulder, the back, the right hand, and above the right foot. The medicine man spits on his little finger and rubs the incisions with it.

Cannibalism and Human Sacrifice. The problem of cannibalism and human sacrifice in the interlacustrine region is the most obscure and difficult of all. For example, in Ruanda the bimara,

266 782 651 the blood tax, is said to have existed until just a few years ago. The Bahutu of Bukunzi in Mukinjaga once stole the cows of King Ruganzu and ate them. The next morning the herdsmen found pieces of meat hanging on spears; that was all there was left of the animals. The criminals were recognized by their spears. As a punishment their country was burdened with a special tax. Every year they were obliged to deliver a maiden and a youth. The youth was slain on the way, and his blood brought to the king; the young girl became a muja (slave) of the king. I heard that this sacrifice was last paid three years ago (1904) and then was discontinued by Musinga.

[643] Furthermore, when the king ascends the throne, a boy and a girl are reputedly sacrificed and a drum is beaten with a human thigh bone (1). We must not forget that in Buganda (2) human

1. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902-1903 [Two Journeys Through Ruanda]," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 77.

[113] 2. Roscoe, J., The Baganda, Their Customs and Beliefs (London, 1911), p. 331.

beings were sacrificed in large numbers.

266 575 794 [328] Cannibalism is said to be practiced by the Batwa in the north and by poisoners (balozi). Koch (1) confirms its occurence

1. Koch, R., "Anthropologische Beobachtungen gelegentlich einer Expedition an den Victoria Nyanza [Anthropological Observations on an Expedition to Lake Victoria Nyanza]," Zeitschrift fûr Ethnologie, 1908, p. 465.

among the balogu of the western shore of Lake Victoria: "It is a fact that at present there is still a secret order here which digs up corpses and eats them, and for this reason the families station

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

762 When a man committed suicide, he was buried as usual;
766 but a medicine-man was summoned to tell by augury whether
787 the house had to be deserted or was still fit to live in.

RELIGION

793 I received a statement respecting the religion of the Batuse
[115] from Captain Phillips, the District Commissioner. They were,
[776] he said, monotheistic and had a chief priest who was initiated into his office by a journey up a certain mountain where there
[778] was said to be a flock of sheep sacred to the god. This was a
[782] dangerous exploit, but before a man was accepted as priest he had to go there with a sheep, which he offered to the god.

This chief priest kept all the fetishes and carried out all religious observances for the king, who kept neither fetishes nor priests about him. When there was any illness or other trouble, the king sent a bull, a sheep, or a fowl (in the case of
[787] war, a bull, a ram, or a cock) to the priest, and an augury was taken from the flow of blood and from the markings on the lungs and intestines.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE KING

The kings of Ruanda—government and taxation by the king—food of the king—wives of the king—heir to the king—death of the king—mourning—burial—accession—the king's mother and her brother

643 THE list of the kings of Ruanda was given as follows: Kigwa,
173 who came from heaven—his son, Kimanuke, who begat Randa — Merano — Kobo — Gihanga — Kalyaruanda — Ruganza — Kirimu — Kigeri — Mutabazi — Gahima — Ndahiru — Ndole — Muhenzi — Namuhesera — Sekalongoro — Huhi — Kirima — Ndabalasa — Mubamwhe — Gahiridirwa — Lwogera — Lwabugiri — Lutariridwa, who was killed by his brother Musinga, who still reigns.

692 The king's court was the court of appeal for all his subjects
645 and his council was composed of the high chiefs..

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

and his council was composed of the high chiefs. He imposed taxation of honey, millet, peas, beans, cattle, and milk, and the chiefs were responsible for any building or other state work he required.

The king's first meal in the morning was of milk, which he took either fresh or clotted as he preferred. At noon he generally drank beer, but he took no other food until evening, when he had meat with peas, beans, or millet porridge, but he might never eat sweet potatoes. After this meal he drank either beer or milk, which shows that the people were abandoning the strict rules of the milk diet which would have forbidden his drinking milk immediately after eating meat and vegetables. During the night he was roused and offered milk to drink. The favourite wife waited upon him and ate with him, and special boy attendants ate any meat that was left over from his meal.

The king married as many wives as he wished, suitable girls being added to his harem as they were found. The favourite of the moment was treated as the chief wife. These women were continually consulting medicine-men and priests, who told them whether they were going to bear children and took auguries to decide who would be the mother of the future king. The king often chose a prince to succeed him, and when he grew up informed him of his future and made him a partner with him on the throne. The other princes were sent to govern different parts of the country as chiefs.

When the king felt that he was seriously ill, he ended his life by taking poison. When he died the news was circulated over the country. There was no rule against naming the king after his death nor against saying that he was dead. The whole tribe shaved their heads and all men kept apart from women during the two months of mourning. The males of cows, goats, and sheep were also separated from their females for this time, and the udders of cows, after milking, were smeared with ashes instead of with white clay as was usual at other times. One cow was killed when the king died.

A certain district was reserved for the burial of the kings,

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

643 and each king had a hill kept for his grave alone. On this a
766 large house was built and the grave was dug inside it; servants were selected to look after the tomb, and cows were dedicated to the dead king. The hill was thereafter looked upon as sacred and no king would walk upon the hill where a predecessor lay buried. Though only one cow was killed for
[782] the king at his death, two or three hundred were sacrificed at the end of the mourning.

643 The king usually stated which son was to reign in his stead
721 and if possible his wishes were respected; but if he had made no appointment, the chiefs chose a prince to be their new king. If in this case any brother prince objected, the two princes went to war until one or the other was killed.

644 The king's mother and her brother acted as advisors to the
766 king. A special district about four miles from the tombs of the kings was reserved for the burial place of the kings' mothers.

CHAPTER XXX

LIFE AND OCCUPATIONS OF THE PEOPLE

Food—serving meat—entertainment of visitors—fire—the cattle—care of the cows—value of cows—birth of calves—goats, sheep, and bees—agriculture—growing millet—drums—dances—adoption—slaves and servants

Food

262 The Batuse were not so dependent upon milk as were the
234 cow-people of Ankole, but it formed an important part of their diet. When a man rose in the morning, his wives or
[302] servants brought butter and anointed him, rubbing it well into the skin. They then gave him as much milk as he could drink and he took no solid food till evening. At noon he might drink beer or milk, after which he usually slept for a time. In the evening, however, he had a meal of meat and plantain or millet porridge, and after it he might drink milk again.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

wife did not go out to work herself but left it to the servants and slaves. Among the poorer people, however, both husband and wife worked in the field.

They grew millet, both the large kind and the small millet called *bulo*, peas, beans, maize, sweet potatoes and various other roots, and kassava.

For the millet crop the ground was dug over with the common short hoe; and before the seed was sown, a small basket of it was taken to the medicine-man, who gave it his blessing and mixed some medicine with it or placed a fetish in it. Some of this seed was mixed with that which was to be sown, and the basket with the remainder was kept in the field during the sowing and afterwards taken home and kept in a safe place to ensure good crops.

As the grain ripened, guards were placed to scare off birds and wild animals. The firstfruits of the crop had to be eaten by the owner and his wife, and the grain was stored in granaries near the houses. For use the millet was ground and boiled to a stiff porridge which formed the principal food of the people.

Drums and Dances

Drums were in common use in the country and were beaten morning and evening. Drums were beaten before the king's house at the noon hour and all the people clapped their hands. It was thought that if these drums did not sound, disorder would prevail and the people would not know what time of day it was. Even when the king was dead these drums were sounded. Special drums were also beaten at new moon, and were the signal for a fresh relay of monthly workers to take up their posts and relieve those on duty about the king.

The chief drums were *Kalinga*, *Kiragutu*, *Kirimugezi*, and *Basibihugo*. Kalinga was given to the king on his accession by the people and he accepted it by taking the stick, beating the drum, and then clapping his hands. The people were never again permitted to see this drum. When the skin wore out a new skin was put on over the old, and each month a bull was killed and the blood smeared over the drum.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

534 A chief wore two beads on each side of his head, but he
782 did not possess a drum and only used one when it was
634 necessary to propitiate some ghost which was troubling him.
[301] A drum was given to him for this special purpose, and he took it to his kraal, where he beat it for the benefit of the ghost.

[644] When saluting the king, the people knelt and clapped their hands.

534 There was always dancing at new moon, which was accom-
[535] panied by singing, by the music of the royal band, and by bells. The musical instruments consisted of drums and the horns of animals through which the musicians blew, while some members of the band had bells on their legs which sounded as they stamped to mark the rhythm.

Adoption

597 A man who had no son might adopt the child of some relative without any ceremony, but, as a man might take as many wives as he wished, it was not often that a husband was left without a son. If a boy who had been adopted committed some misdeed for which he was cast off by his new parents, his own parents would not take him back. He had to find means of atoning for his fault and gaining the forgiveness of his adopted parents.

597 If a man adopted a boy from a clan other than his own,
614 he took him to the fireplace, dropped some millet into the fire and said, "This is my own son and when I am dead he will attend to my needs." A woman naturally did not welcome
[578] an adopted son, for he was a standing rebuke to her.

Slaves

567 There were several classes of slaves:

(1) The conquered aborigines of the land who were really free but were regarded by the upper classes as slaves inasmuch as they did menial work for them.

(2) Household slaves. These were mostly women from among the free people who engaged of their own will in this

[Text continues on page 195]

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

be consummated until he had gone. The rest of the bride's party left on the second day, after receiving presents.

A son-in-law did not fear his wife's parents, but was regarded and treated by them as a son.

A man might marry as many as five wives, but he brought only one of them to live in his own village; for the others he built houses in their villages and visited them there. If he was wealthy, which was usually the condition of a man who married more than one wife, he gave each of them cows to supply her with milk, a man to herd them, men to dig her field, and also maids to wait upon her and work in her field.

A wife was usually restricted to her husband in sexual intercourse, but when a great friend of the husband paid him a visit he might permit him to live with one of his wives who acted as the visitor's wife for the time. It was, however, more usual for a guest to go to another house with his own wife, or for the host and his wife to sleep on a mat on the floor and leave the bed to the guest and his wife.

Illness and Death

When a man fell ill, his wife informed his relatives and a medicine-man was summoned to discover by augury whether magic was being used or whether the illness was the work of some ghost. If magic was found to be the cause of the illness, the name of the person using it had also to be discovered by augury, and he was accused and brought before the king or some chief to be tried. Invariably a man who had been discovered by augury to be guilty was condemned without question; he might appeal to the poison ordeal, but he had very little chance of escape, and was always put to death. If the augury showed the illness to be due to a ghost, a bull was offered to the ghost and it was begged to stop troubling the man.

Before a man died he generally named his heir, who was usually one of his sons, though not necessarily so and not always the eldest son. If a man died without having named

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

conditions it was evidently impossible to socialize and to educate together all the children of the same polygynous family.

The father had very considerable authority to punish during the period of the educational processes, and could even go as far as to curse and disinherit his sons. He could not use such drastic punishments for daughters except in the case of a pregnancy of an unmarried one. Then she could be killed, but mainly because such an event was regarded as being unlucky for the whole lineage. This case has to be interpreted in connexion with those others in which the father could condemn a daughter to death for fear of her conveying ill-luck: these were should her breasts not develop or should she have no periods. The father could appeal to the inzu head when he was unable to discipline his children and the married children could appeal to him when they had been punished by sanctions they found too heavy.

(*e*) *Ritual function*

The inzu ancestor was honoured mainly in the compound of the patrilineage head. A small hut was devoted to him and on certain occasions all his descendants met to make offerings to him. Some of these occasions were fixed, others were decided only after consulting a diviner.

In each compound there was also a small hut dedicated to the spirits of the dead, where the ancestor of the patrilineage was honoured. The wife could not build there a hut for her own ancestors. Nearer forbears were honoured in the compound more than the inzu's ancestors: the husband's grandfather or great-grandfather. The husband introduced his wife to him saying: 'Here is the woman I have taken in order to beget children for you, to multiply your lineage.' The bull used for stud purposes was also presented to the great-grandfather's spirit. Not only forbears but other dead members of the patrilineage or the family were honoured, but less often.

Almost every day small offerings were made. A few drops of milk or of beer, or some beans or peas were thrown into the hut. Or a girl spent some time in the ancestor's hut to enable him to enjoy a woman. But sometimes the spirits required more.

We have mentioned earlier that they were often angry and could send illnesses, sterility, cattle-epidemics, and death. They were regarded as beneficial only in a negative way, i.e. when they did

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

not injure the living. Consequently the cult addressed to the *bazimu* (spirits of the dead) was essentially aimed at appeasing them. When an unfortunate event was ascribed to a dead relative's ire by the diviner, the spirit had to be placated by the immolation of a goat or even a bull.

These practices were symbolic. It was not implied that the *bazimu* really drank the milk, ate the meat, or slept with the girl. When a goat or a steer was offered, most of it was eaten by members of the family. Other practices are more difficult to interpret. It sometimes happened that water was given to the spirits and at the same time they were told very loudly that it was milk. The explanation given by most informants is that *bazimu* were regarded as rather stupid and that these mock offerings were not given to the ancestors who were respected but only to the collaterals who, as *bazimu*, were hated. To have feared powerful *bazimu*, however, and at the same time to have deceived them so grossly does not appear very coherent and requires, I think, further explanation.

Every fourth reign, there was an important ritual connected with the final burial of the fourth predecessor of the king. As all *bazimu* were thought to accompany the spirit of the king long ago deceased, their cult was abolished. The inzu heads, however, continued to be remembered.[12]

[12] Kagame, 1947, pp. 377-86.